614 /216 cont./
622 is the most honored and respected person, whose decision is equal
in power to the judgment of a biy. The father occupies the cen-
59 tral position in the family. He is the full and absolute master,
while the woman and children are in the position of servants. The
conditions of life place the woman considerably higher, however,
than she would have to be juridically. In fact she is the main
head of the house, since on her shoulders lies the raising of the
children, the preparation of food and clothing, going out for the
livestock near the village, the making of articles for domestic
use, the setting up of the dwelling (yurt) and keeping it in order,
etc. In general she takes a large part and even the major part in
all the household affairs of the family, and by this very fact she
emerges from the unenviable position in which she is placed by
law. According to the law, she is the simple property of her
• [968] husband, and after his death she comes into the possession of the
[978] brother or family of her husband (this last, however, has already
begun to go out of usage).

000 We shall say a few words about the principal rituals of the
Kirghiz /Kazak/.

581 Among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ marriage can never be con-
sidered a sacrament or sacred ritual as it is, for example, among
us. Among them it is a civil arrangement. Modern marriages are
arranged primarily on the basis of such considerations as be-
coming allied with a clan that is rich in land, or with a clan that
is influential in elections, or, finally, to improve the household
by means of the bride-money /kalym/. On these bases the per-
sonal participation of the groom and bride becomes superfluous,
and an agreement is possible while they, the groom and bride,
583 are still in the cradle. In former times the bride-money was of
two types -- the sultan type and the Kirghiz /Kazak/ type.
The former /217/ consisted of 47 head of various kinds of live-
stock (camels, horses, cows, and smaller animals), and the
latter of 37 head of the same livestock. The entire clan of the
bride took part in raising the bride-money, and the entire clan
of the groom shared in receiving it. Now only the father of the
bride takes part in providing the bride-money, for which reason
its size has begun to vary greatly. /The author's further remarks

[Great Horde]

584 anyone else unless she was past 20 years of age; and in such a case an appeal to the bii[4] had first to be made. If the original exchange of gifts had been made, a part of the kalym paid, and the girl was married to another before she was 20, then the kalym had to be returned, and in addition a heavy fine of from three to six nines of horses or camels had to be paid to the family of the rejected groom. This was an extremely heavy fine, in view of the fact that the kalym itself, which was reckoned a heavy tax on the family of the bridegroom, was equal to seven sevens of horses, or nine nines, or more. If the girl died, a sister would be supplied by the family of the dead girl, if possible, but the kalym in this case was much lower.[146]

568 587 If the wife died within two years of the marriage, the husband was obliged to return to the wife's family the dowry and all her private possessions, ornaments, etc. If she died after two years of the marriage, or having died before the two-year limit had borne sons to her husband, the husband was obliged to return nothing, nor could he ask for kalym in return as he might if the woman died before two years of marriage and childless. But he might require the family of the wife to supply him with another wife, in which case he paid a lower kalym.[147]

[146] Izraztsov, 81.

[147] Ibid., 82-83.

[4] on the bii or "elder," cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 411-412 -- Analyst]